624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared ●264 for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
•264 father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
272 guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
606 lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
291 keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[264] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

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A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

264 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 264 285] At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/ guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 273 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main 585 263 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn. 264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to [415] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con- [263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento, [263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/44 conf'd/

585 262 264 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and [527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 261 [252] It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 264 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for 585 262 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organization of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they buried themselves with the raising of large 585 431 231 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably [262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

585 /74 cont'd/
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of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always be-
262 gin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/
264 pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family
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They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary
[262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [214] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is [782] presented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] [263] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

[439] [824] The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[631 cont.]
527 778 888 husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.
[431]

Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the [574] men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right [562] and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is [264] [574] taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. --

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The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

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11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married
782 daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then
593 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the [782] extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions.

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

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Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits concerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 776

4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[212 cont.]
771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
[782] for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[789] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig̈ šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word toroñ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni toroñ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini toroñ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as toroñ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
• 264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend
773 back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergān when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzūlgano, tsiani toroñni kuguo tieñgërdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven.
[192] The word šeńlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

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N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

A. The Family Organization

M 594 596 [611] [591] Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The N *563 extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. M [556] In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, M [182] [252] the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are M [342] well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. M • [264] [342] After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

N *563 M 592 554 [769] The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.

M [35] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

M [252] The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

M [744] The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.

M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M • 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

/The Monguors/

The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561] The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

i. Celebrations and festivals

N *563 M 614 796 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the N *563 M 614 527 273 prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [1182] [852] Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the